FBIS DAILY REPORT

MIDDLE EAST & SOUTH ASIA REVIEW

24 JANUARY 1984

Lebanon

Lebanese Army positions in Suq al-Gharb again came under fire and the Army responded with "appropriate" weapons, according to Beirut radio. The Progressive Socialist Party's new clandestine radio, the Voice of Truth, reported "fierce clashes" on the Khaldah-'Aramun axis, where the Army and Phalangists were attempting to advance.

In the south, Israeli troops surrounded the 'Ayn al-Hilwah Palestinian refugee camp near Sidon and arrested a number of its inhabitants in operations described by IDF sources as "intended to counter terrorist activities," according to AFP.

Israel-Jordan

Israel has apologized to Jordan for the "mistaken" wounding of three Jordanians by IDF soldiers who "suspected them of being terrorists," Jerusalem radio reported. Earlier, an IDF spokesman confirmed that shooting had occurred along the Israeli-Jordanian border on 21 January, IDF Radio said.

Iran

Hoseyn Musavi-Tabrizi formally submitted his resignation as the Islamic Revolution's prosecutor general following the merger, earlier approved by the Majlis, of his office with the general prosecutor's office, IRNA reported. According to clandestine Radio Iran, Musavi-Tabrizi's resignation was to protest the verdicts issued at trials of military members of the Tudeh Party.

Kuwait

The state security court will convene on 11 February to begin the trial of 25 persons accused of involvement in the December explosions in Kuwait, a spokesman for the attorney general's office announced in a statement reported by KUNA. Four of the 17 Iraqis among the accused are still at large and will be tried in absentia, he revealed.

Maghreb Affairs

Moroccan-Libyan Talks — A Moroccan-Libyan committee met in Rabat to prepare for a meeting between the two governments, Rabat radio reported.

Tunisian View on Egypt — To suspend Egypt's membership in the ICO for declared reasons and then restore it "despite the fact that these reasons are still there is something that Tunisia cannot accept," Foreign Minister Beji Caid es-Sebsi declared in an interview with KUNA. He warned that the decision to reintegrate Egypt may encourage African and Asian countries to restore relations with Israel.

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AFP: Top Generals Replaced; Officials Attacked

BK241232 Hong Kong AFP in English 1226 GMT 24 Jan 84

[Text] Islamabad, Jan 24 (AFP) — Three generals at the head of the Afghan Armed Forces have been replaced by tougher officers as a prelude to purges among the embattled ranks, according to Western diplomats here today. The switches followed public attacks by Kabul authorities on the lack of motivation and the inefficiency of the troops, who have dropped to 40,000 from twice that figure in 1979. The army has been bled by desertions to Moslem rebels, regularly ambushed and reportedly riddled with officiers sympathetic to the rebel cause.

Diplomats here said the chief of staff, deputy defence minister and chief of operations had all been replaced after a six-hour meeting on January 8. Afghan President Babrak Karmal, installed by the Soviet invaders, reportedly harshly criticised the army's performance during 1983.

The ageing General Baba Jan, one of the rare senior officiers not in the top hierarchy of the Afghan Communist Party, was replaced as chief of staff by Air Force Commander General Nazar Mohammad. He is a member of the party's minority Khalq faction and considered "hard" and "aggressive."

Gen. Mohammad Nabi Azimi and Ghulam Qader Miakhel, both trained inthe Soviet Union and members of the party's majority Parchamis faction, were appointed respectively deputy defence minister and operations chief.

The diplomats said assassinations of party cadres, army soldiers and Afghan secret police had tripled during the last week in the Afghan capital. They said a senior Soviet officer, probably Military Attache General Krakhmanov, was killed on January 18 as he stepped from his car in broad daylight in the Karte Seih residential district. Troops immediately sealed off the area and about 50 young men answering descriptions of the assassins were arrested. Eight officials, including two women, had recently been killed either in or close to their homes, the diplomats said. Afghan star singer Wahid Sabri, just back from a tour in the Soviest Union, was assassinated last Saturday as he left a concert in Kabul's old district.

Clashes between the army and rebels were still frequent across Afghanistan despite the onset of winter when military activity normally tapered off. Rebels reportedly killed about 50 Afghan soldiers in an ambush near Paghman, site of a former royal residence and close to the capital. The rebels were said to have launched an offensive on the Shomali Plain, north of Kabul, which has been pounded by Soviet artillery and bomber aircraft almost continually since autumn.

The diplomats said Soviet planes intensively bombed the Ghazni region, south of Kabul, at the start of this month killing numerous civilians, particularly in the village of Rauza, on the road to the capital. A resistance leader in the region, "Commander" Amin Wardak, who recently arrived in Pakistan, said the bombing in Ghazni left "at least 200 dead." The bombing followed the escape of 400 prisoners from Ghazni jail in December with the help of an Afghan officer in charge of security at the prison, he said.

Kabul Reports Victories Over Counterrevolutionaries

LD231923 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 23 Jan 84

[Text] Our heroic and self-sacrificing Armed Forces' operations to completely and finally annihilate the counterrevolution in light of the new phase of improving affairs are vigorously continuing. We are witnessing the scandalous defeat of the counterrevolution and its imperialist masters.

According to the latest reports, recently, in continuation of crushing blows inflicted upon the rebels — these traitors to the homeland and revolution — 10 of the criminals were killed in the course of new successful operations carried out by our vigilant security forces in the southern parts of Urgun District, Paktika Province, in cooperation with the people of that area. Reports reaching BAKHTAR agency say that the security forces seized 14 antitank and antipersonnel mines, 40 kg of explosives, and documents showing the criminals' links with the enemy. Also, during these operations, four DSHK heavy machine guns and their positions were completely destroyed.

According to another report, seven traitor rebels were punished for their actions during self-sacrificing operations by the country's Armed Forces in Khanabad district, Konduz Province, with the cooperation of inhabitants of that area. The report adds that a large quantity of weapons was captured from these criminals.

Quoting security forces sources, the correspondent of BAKHTAR agency reports that in the course of our heroic Armed Forces' latest operation, carried out with the sincere cooperation of the people, a large number of rebels belonging to the Islamic Unity band, along with their ringleader, Wasil, were crushed in the Kares-e Mir, Karez-e Balla, and Ghaza areas of Shakardara district, Kabul Province, and a number of them arrested. As a result of these successful operations the security forces seized 1 DSHK, 2 recoilless guns, 10 boxes of ammunition, 1 rocket launcher, 10 .303 rifles, 2 radios, a large number of antitank and antipersonnel mines, 100 mortar rounds, 2 RDP machine guns, 1 Egyptian Kalashnikov, 5 electrical [word indistinct], 45 boxes of .303 ammunition, 150 rounds of recoilless shells, and 1 camera made in the United States.

According to another report, recently the country's viglant security forces arrested an 18-man group belonging to the Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi band which was secretly operating in Khowst Major District.

Another report to BAKHTAR says that as a result of our Armed Forces' heroic operations in (Zaghchi Khel) village of Paktika Province, a foodstuff depot was seized the security forces seized a food deposit, two DSHK's, and two mortars, and destroyed four nests of the counterrevolution.

Reports from Khowst major district say that eight counterrevolutionaries were captured along with their weapons in the course of operations carried out by the units of border regiment in that district.

Clandestine Radio Attacks Soviet Policies

GF231410 (Clandestine) Voice of Afghanistan in Uzbek 1600 GMT 16 Jan 84

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Since the days of the murderous czars, the aggressive and criminal Russians have been harboring a desire for hegemony and for exploiting nations. When the communist regime came into being in that country, it moved to mercilessly equate nations in Western Europe and Central Asia with (?dirt) and cruelly destroy their independence, will, and wishes — using artillery, tanks, and shells to prove their beastly grudge.

After World War II, exploitationist Russia massed its military forces with a view to demonstrating itself to the world as a major power. The unalterable [tuzelmez] relations of Western exploitationists were (?common knowledge) to the Third World and to the Islamic world, that is to say, to the oppressed countries. However, they did not know of the foul nature of sympathetic Russia. In this regard [istila], they were deceived by tricks with regard to exploitation and placed themselves under the yoke of that vampiric giant. This was a good opportunity for the criminals in the Kremlin to exploit the pure outcry of the suffering nations in an infamous way.

However, the innocent people of Afghanistan — a whole generation of whom had clashed with British colonialism — (?did not agree to yield to) Russia's red exploitation. In fact, the Muslim nation of Afghanistan was well informed of the ill fate of the Muslim nations in Central Asia. Their independence and Islamic character were eliminated for the sake of realizing Russia's inauspicious objectives and satanic policy.

In the course of the time that has lapsed, the Afghans participated in the struggle against communism in Central Asia (?to prevent) the silencing of the Third World and the Islamic world, and in Central Asia, Africa, and America the [words indistinct] the groups grained in Russia. Was there any way of believing in the lies of that rotten enemy?

Today, the officials in the Kremlin are trying (?to achieve their targets) in Africa and Asia through the use of force. [passage indistinct] In fact, the Russians have understood well the heroic struggle waged by the valiant and hardworking people of Afghanistan against the dark exploitation by Britain. They put into effect their exploitationist plans in Afghanistan through a satanic policy over a long period of time. During the past 20 years the Russians have been endeavoring to realize their exploitationist and inauspicious objectives (?through cooperating with inauspicious regimes and through using the selfish tendencies of such regimes).

Jidda: Iran Deporting Afghan Refugees

GF230638 Jidda Domestic Service in Arabic 0500 GMT 23 Jan 84

[Text] Informed sources in Islamabad have said that Iran is currently conscripting Afghan refugees to fight in its war against Iraq and that it is expelling those who refuse to be conscripted to Pakistan or Afghanistan. The sources said that more than 4,000 Afghan refugees have entered Pakistan from Iran in the past month. The Iranian authorities are deporting Afghan refugees who are not cooperating with them on military vehicles and buses to an area some 32 km west of the Pakistani border where they are left to walk the rest of the way to the border, the sources added.

Informed Afghan sources said that about 300 families comprising 1,300 Afghan refugees were deported by the Iranian authorities to Afghanistan.

More Demonstrations Reported in Jammu-Kashmir

BK231615 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 23 Jan 84

[Text] A number of Congress-I workers and policemen were injured today in a clash in the border town of Poonch in Jammu and Kashmir. A party spokesman said that police lathi [baton]-charged and used teargas to disperse demonstrators though they were peaceful. Two hundred and fifty workers were injured in the incident. An official spokesman, however, said the Congress-I processionists turned violent after a meeting and attacked the police.

The Congress-I leader, Mufti Mohammad Syed, has condemned the police action and said the incident shows that the ruling party is continuing repressive measures against Congress-I workers.

A three-member Congress-I team led by Mr Arif Mohammad Khan submitted a memorandum to the president, Giani Zail Singh, in New Delhi today. The team recently visited some places in Jammu and Kashmir where police firing took place. The memorandum urges the center to take stern action against antinational and secessionist elements in the state. Later, briefing newsmen, Mr Khan said that antinational elements enjoy the patronage of the state government and patriotic workers are being harassed. He alleged that the police resorted to lathi charge and firing at these places without the orders of a competent authority.

The Jammu and Kashmir unit of the Janata Party has condemned the killing of nine Congress-I workers recently. Members of the Executive Committee belonging to Kashmir valley met in Jammu today and adopted a resolution criticizing the functioning of the state government. The resolution accused the state government of encouraging antinational elements.

AFP Reports Tension High

BK240835 Hong Kong AFP in English 0827 GMT 24 Jan 84

[Text] New Delhi, Jan 24 (AFP) — Tension remained high in the northern Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir following yesterday's violent clashes between local police and militants of the Congress Party which left 160 people injured in the Poonch district, according to police reports received here today.

Meanwhile a five-member federal enquiry commission, in an memorandum submitted to Indian President Giani Zail Singh, yesterday called for the immediate intervention of the federal government to end the disturbances which they said might lead to the secession of Kashmir, which borders Pakistan.

New Delhi dailies said seven policemen, including a superintendent, were among those injured as Congress supporters battled police with grenades, molotov cocktails. Yesterday the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA said police used tear gas to disperse the demonstrators when they began throwing stones, starting fires and looting shops. The papers today added that 150 supporters of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Congress Party were arrested as they were observing a 24-hour strike in Poonch to protest what they called the state government's "anti-people policies."

Congress militants are demanding the dissolution of the Kashmir assembly and of the state government led by Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah. Dr. Abdullah for his part has accused the Congress Party of seeking to destabilize his administration set up in the wake of the 1983 state elections won by his Moslem-Dominated National Conference.

The enquiry commission said five batallions of volunteers belonging to a nationalist Moslem group known as "Al-Fatah" had been incorporated into Kashmir's state police with the complicity of Dr. Abdullah. Sme observers suggested that, with Dr. Abdullah being accused of playing into the hands of secessionists and of even tolerating pro-Pakistani demonstrations in Kashmir, the days of his administration were numbered.

India and Pakistan foughty two wars in 1947 and in 1965 over Jammu and Kashmir, which is divided by a ceasefire line, the de facto border between the two countries. Analysits noted that the Poonch district is a particularly volatile area where several Pakistani and Indian divisions stare at each othere across the tense ceasefire line. United Nations observers monitoring the ceasefire since 1948 have reported frequent exchanges of fire.

The Kashmir unrest erupted three days before the deadline set by Sikh militants for compliance with the demands for greater religious and political demands in the northwestern state of Punjab.

The Sikh party Akali Dal has called on 125,000 volunteers to be prepared for a "revolutionary" action to be announced Thursday if the demands are not met.

Congress leaders, including former Foreign Minister Swaran Singh, met in Amritsar yesterday in a bid to settle the Sikh issue. PTI said their action followed a "green signal from Mrs. Gandhi, who reportedly wanted them to 'probe' the Akali Dal mood for negotiations."

Jammu Chief Urges Police To Show Restraint

BK240459 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0240 GMT 24 Jan 84

[Text] The Jammu and Kashmir [J and K] chief minister, Dr Farooq Abdullah, has said that the country is passing through a crucial period and there is greater need for unity among the people. He was addressing a function at the police training center at Kathua near Jammu.

The chief minister called upon policemen to show restraint while discharging their duties.

The general secretary of the J and K unit of the Congress-I, Mr Malik Mohiuddin, has said that the state government has launched a campaign of mass arrest of his party workers in the valley.

In a statement in Srinagar, he alleged that those who are arrested are subjected to torture by the police.

UK Paper: 'Huge' Order for Soviet Arms

PM201102 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 19 Jan 84 p 5

[Edward Fursdon report: "Huge Order by India for Soviet Arms"]

[Text] The very latest Soviet tanks and fighter aircraft are among a huge order for arms which India has placed with the Soviet Union, informed sources in the sub-continent have revealed.

The deal, which extends to 1995, is being financed, they say, by a very large Soviet loan for 17 years, on which annual interest of only two per cent is payable.

Interestingly, this is payable either in rupees or in the equivalent barter value of goods. Prices for the items are said to be "ludicrously low" with tanks at less than a third their Western equivalent.

Twenty one Soviet vessels are to be supplied over the next five years including fast missile craft, submarines and surface vessels. There is also aid to help domestic naval construction in Indian shipyards.

The Indian Army, already equipped with some T 72 tanks, is to have more, with an option to manufacture both them and the new T 80 which is only just beginning to come into service with Soviet forces.

The army is to increase the number of its BMP 1 armoured personnel carriers, together with the improved airportable BMP 2 version — both fitted with a 73mm smooth bore gun.

MIG 27 fighter aircraft are to be manufactured in India from the end of this year. On offer is the sale and eventual manufacture of the very latest supersonic MIG 29 Fulchrum and MIG 31 Foxhound fighters.

The Fulchrum is not recorded as even coming into service with the Soviet Air Force until this Spring and the Foxhound has only just begun to be deployed.

The sources say the Soviet SAM 8 missile, a mobile field surface-to-air system, has already arrived and is in Indian service.

Negotiations are still under way over the SAM 5 — the system the Soviet Union recently sent to Syria and which is now coming off production.

India may also order "dual capable" long range surface-to-surface missiles.

Foreign Ministry Undergoes Reorganization

BK171520 Madras THE HINDU in English 29 Dec 83 p 6

[By G. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 28 — The Foreign Secretary, Mr. M.K. Rasgotra, is reorganising the Ministry of External Affairs to regroup various territorial Divisions and provide for a more rational redistribution of work to ensure better coordination and higher direction.

After the present Secretary (East), Mr. K.S. Bajpai, relinquishes charge towards the end of January to take up his new assignment as Ambassador to the United States, there will be only there Secretaries and three Additional Secretaries in the Ministry, looking after all the Divisions under the Foreign Secretary's overall supervision.

The Foreign Secretary will be dealing with the two superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and all the neighbouring countries, reorganised into different Divisions. He will have, in addition, overall charge of both Eastern and Western Europe, the United Nations, Policy planning and general administration, Besides coordination.

East Asia Division: The new Secretary (East), Mr. K. Natwar Singh, will relinquish his present charge of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran. He will be looking after the East Asia Division, which includes China, Japan, the two Koreas and Mongolia, and the Southern Division extending from the three Indo-China States and five ASEAN countries to Australia and New Zealand and the South Pacific region.

Mr. Natwar Singh will also be dealing with the External Publicity Division and Latin America which will be under a separate Division, after the present America Division looking after both North and South America is split into two different units.

The Secretary (West), Mr. Romesh Bhandari, who is a specialist on west Asia and economic affairs, will also be entrusted with the whole of Africa under this new redistribution of work following the regrouping of several Divisions.

Two divisions under single charge: The West Asia and North African Division (WANA) extending from the Gulf area to Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco is being bifurcated, so that the newly created Gulf Division could also look after other countries in the area including Saudi Arabia and Iran. The rest of West Asia and North africa will continue to be under the charge of the truncated WANA Division. The Secretary (West), Mr. Bhandari, will be in charge of both these Divisions which will now include Iran. He will also be in charge of Immigration and Passport departments.

Similarly, the North American Division will consist only of the U.S. and Canada, while the newly created Latin American Division will include Mexico, all the Central American Republics and the whole of South America, besides the Caribbean region.

The purpose of this spit-up is to leave the Joint Secretary dealing with the U.S. without the additional burden of looking after the whole of North and South America so that he could devote more time to Indo-American relations.

The present Northern Division dealing with Nepal and Bhutan, besides the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan refugees, will be left undisturbed, but Burma is being detached from the Southern Division and added to the so-called BSM Division that looks after Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives. Afghanistan, will, however, continue to be grouped with the Pakistan Division, even after Iran is detached and added to the newly created Gulf Division.

Overseas Indians: An Additional Secretary, functioning directly under the Foreign Secretary, will supervise and coordinate the functioning of the Northern, Pakistan and Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Burma, Sri Lanka and Maldives (BBMS) Divisions dealing with all the neighbouring States.

There will also be a Special Coordination Division looking after the welfare of overseas Indians, functioning in concert with the respective territorial Divisions.

Reporting procedure stays: The present arrangement of an Additional Secretary in charge of both Eastern and Western European Divisions, the U.N. Division and the Policy Planning Division, reporting directly to the Foreign Secretary and functioning under the general guidance, will be continued for the time being under the new reorganisation. The vast Administration Division that has to look after the entire establishment of the External Affairs Ministry in Delhi and nearly 100 diplomatic missions abroad will also be under the Foreign Secretary who will continue to have the overall responsibility for ensuring the smooth functioning of the whole set-up in the normal course.

Functional Link: But, in all policy matters, the Prime Minister's Secretariat also is brought into the picture to provide effective liaison between the Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister in processing various ideas and arriving at the necessary decisions.

Though the other Secretaries will continue to have direct access to the Minister in matters concerning their respective charges, it is the Foreign Secretary who, in the final analysis, has to serve as a functional link beteen the Prime Minister's Secretariat and the External Affairs ministry, while the Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister maintain contact at the political level at all times.

CPI-M General Secretary on Gandhi's IMF Decision

BK221348 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1230 GMT 22 Jan 84

[Text] The general secretary of the Communist Party of India-Marxist, Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, has said that the prime minister's decision not to draw the last installment of International Monetary Fund loan appears to be a good development. He, however, doubted whether the government will stick to it. Mr Namboodiripad was talking to newsmen in Madras today. He alleged that the Congress-I is planning to destabilize the non-Congress-I state governments.

'Arafat Thanks Gandhi for Assistance to PLO

BK231611 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 23 Jan 84

[Text] The PLO Chief, Mr 'Arafat, has conveyed to India his deep gratitude and appreciation at the efforts made by the prime minister, Mrs Gandhi, to sort out differences within the Palestinian Liberation Organization. Mr 'Arafat, who met the secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, Mr Romesh Bhandari, in Tunis, gave a detailed account of the recent events in West Asia and Lebanon to him. Mr Bhandari returned to New Delhi last night after his visits to Tunisia, Algeria, and Casablanca where he had gone as special representative of Mrs Gandhi in her capacity as chairperson of the Nonaligned Movement.

Protestors Demand Destruction of British Film

BK240859 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0830 GMT 24 Jan 84

[Text] A group of ex-INA [Indian National Army] personnel today demonstrated outside the British High Commission in New Delhi. They were protesting against the production of an alleged derogatory film on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose by a British TV network. They handed over a memorandum to the high commission demanding destruction of the film, which they said maligned Netaji and other Indian leaders.

Refugee Flow From Bangladesh to Assam Halted

BK221601 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 22 Jan 84

[Text] The union minister of state for home affairs, Mr N.R. Laskar, said that the work on the barbed wire fencing along the Indo-Bangla border will begin soon. Talking to newsmen at Calcutta airport, he said the infiltration from Bangladesh into Assam has now been completely stopped. The Border Security Force has been strengthened in West Bengal to curb the influx of foreign nationals, he added.

Zia on Islamic Summit, Prisoner Release

BK 240346 Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 0200 GMT 24 Jan 84

[Excerpts] President General Mohammad Ziaul Haq has stressed the need for complete unity of thought and action among the Islamic countries to achieve self-reliance in all spheres. Addressing a news conference in Lahore last night, he said that, by the grace of God, the Islamic countries have tremendous resources of men and material. The only thing that is needed is complete unity, cooperation, and integration. Once it is achieved, the Islamic world will become self-reliant in many fields, including defense.

Referring to the recently concluded Islamic summit in Casablanca, the president said that his speech at the conference was an extempore expression of Pakistan's sincere desire for Islamic unity.

In reply to a question about Iran's participation in the conference, the president said that before the conference, an emissary had come to him with a message from Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i giving reasons for not attending the ICO summit. The president said that he had given a detailed letter to the Iranian emissary for the Iranian president expressing Pakistan's desire that Iran should play its role in the conference in an Islamic spirit.

In reply to a question on the release of political detainees, the president said that a large number of detainees have already been released and the rest will be released gradually. A complete formula has been adopted for this in Sind and Punjab. The number of such political detainees is very low.

He said that the politicians who have been put under house arrest will be released before the lifting of restrictions on political activities in the country. The president emphatically said that the present government does not beleive in political vengeance and has not expelled anyone from the country.

In reply to another question, he said that the 1973 Constitution, which was not abrogated, does not explain whether the elections be held on party or nonparty basis.

On provincial autonomy, he said that the issue has been settled in the 1973 Constitution, and the government fully understands the [words indistinct] and that is why it maintained it.

The president since returned to Rawalpindi.

Military Court To Try Antistate Criminals

GF201200 Karachi DAWN in English 16 Jan 84 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, Jan 15: A special military tribunal is expected to be created soon to try 18 persons held for their alleged involvement in anti-state activities.

Thirteen out of 18 persons are said to be in Rawalpindi jail while the rest — Dr Kaniz Yousaf, former vice chancellor, Quaidi-i-Azam University, M. Usman, Farkhanda Bukhari, Sardar Mazhar Ali Mukhtar Abbasi — are abroad.

The arrested persons had been picked up by the FIA [Federal Investigation Agency] from Islamabad, Peshawar, Lahore, Faisalabad, Tank and Bannu in 1980. They were charged with conspiracy against the government and were sent to jail on judicial remand.

They are Rana Mansha Khan, Malik Zawar Hussain, Tariq Khurshid, Zamir Gilani, Tanweer Zaman, Mahboob Ahmad, Inayat Hashmi, Abdul Wahib, Jahangir Akhter, Saeed Ahmad, Kamran Rizvi, Malik Zahoor Ahmad, Munnawar Shah Bukhari, Baba Ramzan, Mansur Ahmad and Tanweer Baluch.

MKP Refuses Any Compromise With MRD

GF201202 Karachi DAWN in English 15 Jan 84 p 5

[Text] Karachi, Jan 14: The defunct Pakistan Mazdoor Kisan Party [MKP] today resolved there would be "no compromise" on the MRD's [Movement for Restoration of Democracy's] four-point formula, the "sanctity" of the 1973 constitution and the political institutions established thereunder.

In a resolution adopted at a meeting of its organising committee with Mr Nuruddin Sarki in the chair, the MKP expressed "grave concern" over the alleged maltreatment of political prisoners and the lack of basic facilities and proper medical treatment.

The MKP complimented the incarcerated leaders, including its chairman, Mr Fatehyab Ali Khan, who, it said, were being kept in 'C' class in prison and were undergoing their terms of imprisonment-detention with fortitude.

The MKP drew the attention of the case of its secretary-general, Sardar Shaukat Ali, who was taken to the Lahore fort on Oct 12 last and who had since then not been visited by any of his relatives or friends. Similarly, it said, Haji Anwar Khan, chairman of the Punjab MKP, was arrested and taken to Lahore fort a month ago.

PAKISTAN TIMES on Indian Arms Growth

GF221704 Rawalpindi PAKISTAN TIMES in English 12 Jan 84 p 4

[Editorial: "What Are India's Intentions?"]

[Text] India's frenzied acquisition of arms from a variety of sources has been a well-known fact for quite some time. The Soviet source is endless; a number of deals between Moscow and Delhi have seen large scale transfers of sophisticated Soviet weaponry to India. It includes latest versions of MIG fighter aircraft and bombers. Not content with the Soviet supplies, India has also been tapping western sources, acquiring Jaguars from Britain and Mirage-2000 from France.

Not inconsiderable is India's indigenous arms manufacturing capacity which is sufficient not only for its own needs but also for export. In the opinion of experts, as a result of rapid growth of its arsenal, India is now the second biggest military power in Asia after the Soviet Union. It has the fourth largest standing army in the world, and its air force and navy are bigger than those of all the states in South Asia combined.

Giving an assessment of Indian armed strength correspondent Russell Warren Howe recently wrote in the *'WASHINGTON TIMES'*: "The Indian forces are formidable by any standard: an army of 31 divisions, and 30 independent brigades with 2400 tanks and a panoply of armour and missiles, a navy that soon will have [figure indistinct] submarines, 10 destroyers, 27 frigates, a cruiser and a carrier with 51 combat aircraft and combat helicopters and an air force that soon will have about 800 combat aircraft and 660 other planes."

Considering that India does not face any danger from any quarter, it is but natural for its neighbours to feel menaced by the formidable arsenal it has amassed. What puts substance into the threat that India's growing military might poses to the regional states is its attitude towards its neighbours. Nothing shows the angularity of India's foreign policy better than the fact that it has problems with most of its neighbours.

Add to it the Indian leadership's morbid preoccupation with the subject of war. The incessant talk of war and war clouds inevitably arouses suspicions about India's intentions in the area. The overall scenario, not a comforting one, is lent a frightening dimension by the latest report that India has the bulk of its army deployed along its border with Pakistan.

According to a foreign press report, India has the equivalent of 29 divisions along the Pakistan border and the bulk of the Indian naval fleet is stationed on the western coast at Bombay, only 500 miles from Karachi. Foreign military experts have disclosed that India has 650,000 of its 1,000,000 troops and most of its armour and aircraft along Pakistan's borders. The question is: why has India concentrated two-thirds of its forces against Pakistan in total disregard of its other international frontier?

Delhi cannot credibly argue that it faces a military threat from Pakistan. Pakistan not only does not have the capability but it has made it repeatedly clear that it stands for peace and wishes to establish peaceful, normal relations with India. As an earnest of its intention it has also offered to sign a no-war pact with India.

But the latter's response has been to drag its feet, and now it has stationed its troops along Pakistan's borders. Mrs. Indira Gandhi does not tire of expressing her concern for peace. But is this how she wants to promote peace and good-neighbourliness in the sub-continent?

NAWA-E WAQT Responds to Moscow Broadcasts

GF231345 Lahore NAWA-E WAQT in Urdu 18 Jan 84 p 3

[Editorial: "The Soviet Union's Instigation"]

[Text] Moscow radio has announced two items pertaining to Pakistan. The first was about students in Pakistani universities demanding an end to military rule and speedy restitution of a people's government. The second item said that for the Indian Republic Day celebrations on 26 January, Pakistan has accelerated the supply of arms and incendiary material.

The first news item was broadcast by radio Moscow in its "Survey" program, and no one will refute this as false or baseless because not only the students of the universities but also all perceptive persons, including President Ziaul Haq, desire martial law to be lifted as soon as possible. The question is: Has Moscow radio conducted such a "survey" of its own universities and asked what the students think and say about the repressive and tyrannical system imposed there?

The second news item cited an Indian news agency, UNI. It is customary whenever there is a session of the United Nations, an Islamic summit conference, or a nonaligned conference — any platform from which a hue and cry is raised denouncing its expansionist aggression in Afghanistan — for the Soviet media to begin a vendetta against Pakistan.

The fourth Islamic summit is in progress in Morocco and it is natural, in fact definite, that unanimous voices will be raised in protest of the immense destruction; thus, the campaign of slander and falsehoods initiated by the Soviet Union. The Sikhs' demand in India is India's domestic problem and pertains to the Sikh community, but radio Moscow's attempt to involve Pakistan is nothing but another lie and baseless slander typical of the Soviet Union and perhaps meant to strengthen the hands of its ally and puppet Mrs Gandhi.

Musavi-Tabrizi Resigns Prosecutor Post

GF231730 Tehran IRNA in English 1630 GMT 23 Jan 84

[Text] Tehran, Jan. 23, IRNA — Hojatt-ol-Eslam Hussein Musavi-Tabrizi has formally submitted his resignation as the chief of the Islamic Revolution's prosecutors office following the [word indistinct] merger with the general prosecutors office, he announced Sunday. In a press conference, Musavi-Tabrizi said the merger was aimed at legalisation and better coordination between the prosecutors office with the other judicial bodies of the country.

He confirmed reports about his resignation and said it was to conform with legal matters following the merger. From now on as well, I will serve the Islamic revolution anywhere I can, he added.

Hojatt-ol-Eslam Musavi-Tabrizi headed the Islamic revolution's prosecutors office for more than two years, beginning in September 1981. The merger of the two offices was proposed to the Majlis by 15 deputies as well as judicial officials in late winter last year and was passed in the Majlis two months later.

The general prosecutors office is headed by Ayatollah Yusef Sanei.

Prime Minister: Iran To Boycott '84 Olympics

LD240228 Tehran IRNA in English 1030 GMT 23 Jan 84

[Text] Tehran, Jan. 22, IRNA — Iran's prime minister Musavi said in a message to a seminar on 'Olympic-'84' here today that the big powers and especially the U.S. Government have always exploited international athletic events solely as a means for gaining publicity and whitewashing their crimes in the corners of the world. He described the 1984 Olympics of Los Angeles as a mask and facade created by supercilious world powers and the United States for disgusing "their hideous faces" behind an empty pageantry.

Later in the session the super-intendent of the physical education organization of Yiran Sayed Esmail Davoudi, said to the audience that in order "to show the ignominious character of the United States Government, Iran condemns the 1984-Olympic games and that at the same time the Iranian Government would publish exposes for unveiling the crimes of the U.S.A."

He reiterated that the U.S. Government is still actively involved in crimes upon the masses in many parts of the world such as in the Middle East, Latin America, Lebanon, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Grenada and that therefore, Iran could not judge the United States qualified for hosting the games.

He said earlier the Islamic Government had boycotted the Moscow Olympics in protest to the Soviet Government for its occupation of Afghanistan, and that it would do the same with the Olympics-84 games in Los Angeles in order to expose the criminal acts of the world-devouring U.S. Government.

Armed Forces Joint Staff Communique No 1,613

LD231721 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 23 Jan 84

[Communique No 1,613 of Joint Staff Armed Forces of Islamic Republic of Iran]

[Text] In His exalted name. Yesterday, exchanges of fire continued in the Piranshah, Sar Dasht, and Haj Omran operational zones. As a result of artillery fire by our forces, the movement of enemy vehicles was stopped and three vehicles carrying personnel, one mortar launcher, and one loader of the Saddamist forces were destroyed, while 20 enemy troops were killed or wounded.

In the operation zone opposite Marivan, our fighting forces opened fire on a number of enemy military buildings and installations and inflicted major damage on them. On the Bakhtaran and Ilam border fronts, our forces defended their positions and destroyed a number of foxholes and slit-trenches of the Iraqi mercenaries.

The intensity of fire was greater in the Mehran and Sumar regions. As a result of our forces' superior fire, the heavy weapons of the enemy were silenced. A number of enemy patrol groups trying to infiltrate the positions of our forces in Ilam region were forced to flee as a result of our forces' fire.

During the exchange of fire on the shores of Arvand-Rud, our fighting forces opened fire on enemy concentrations west of the river, destroying six personnel and weapons bunkers. As a result of enemy long-range fire against the residential sections of Abadan, four houses were damaged.

[Signed] The Joint Staff Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Commander: Iraqis Will Be Taught 'Lesson'

GF220648 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0400 GMT 22 Jan 84

[Text] The commander of the Army's Ground Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran has said that, by resuming the battles on the fronts of the war imposed by the Iraqi regime on the Islamic Revolution, the Islamic soldiers will teach the agents of international arrogance a lesson they will never forget and after which they will again never think about attacking Islamic Iran.

Armed Forces Carry Out 'Preparatory Operation'

LD202336 Tehran IRNA in English 1945 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Text] Tehran, Jan 20, IRNA — Two battalions of the Islamic forces Thursday night carried out a preparatory operation for the large-scale "Azadi Qods" (liberation of Qods) maneuver which is due to take place in the near future. The operation which lasted till dawn this morning was carried out with an excellent combat capacity with heavy and sophisticated weapons.

The operation took place in a pre-determined region of the country and demonstrated the will and strength of the Islamic forces to confront and suppress possible aggression by the enemies of Islam.

Official on 'Failure' of ICO Summit, Other Issues

LD221134 Tehran IRNA in English 0910 GMT 22 Jan 84

["ICO's Inconsideration of Islamic World Issues Reflected Its Dependency on Superpowers" — IRNA Headline]

[Text] Tehran, Jan. 22, IRNA — Iran's economic and international affairs Foreign Ministry undersecretary, Hussein Kazempour Ardebili, said here Saturday that as long as the Islamic Conference Oragnisation did not put firstly the interests of Muslims and because it was dependent on global powers the Islamic Republic could not confirm its decisions and approvals. He told IRNA that ICO's readmission of Egypt, signaled a defacto sanctioning of the Camp David accords, and its support for the Iraqi regime were measures which inevitably brought about the failure of the conference.

Further commenting on the ICO summit, Kazempour Ardebili noted that due to Morocco's stance vis-a-vis the Islamic world, Iran had previously announced that Casablanca was not a suitable venue for the conference. In spite of Morocco's efforts to conceal summit's failure, for which it had staged a massive propaganda, it was quite clear for the world of Islam and progressive peoples throughout the globe that the conference did not emerge victoriously, the Foreign Ministry official said.

Commenting on reported claims of the Iraqi regime to release a group of Iranian POWS, Kazempour Ardebili said that the Baghdad regime occasionally engaged in such propaganda claiming its unilateral readiness to release a number of Iranian POWs, and alleging Iran's disapproval in this respect. He reiterated that the Iraqi regime had never announced its official willingness in this connection, adding that the Islamic republic did not, by no means, oppose the handing over of a number of its POWS. The Baghdad regime, by occasionally announcing its intention to release a group of Iranian aged people and children, who had been kidnapped in the occupation of some parts of residential border areas and whose names had been given to all international bodies attempted to exploit such propaganda for its interests, he said.

The Iranian official noted that the Islamic Republic had announced its readiness to receive these people who were mainly old women, men and children from residential border areas. "Whenever, based on humanitarian principles, the Islamic Republic announced its unilateral readiness to release a group of wounded and those who should be released according to international conventions, the Iraqi regime, to forestall Iran's measure, would declare it would release a number of (Iranian) POWS whose condition mentioned above," Kazempour Ardebili said.

Referring to commercial, technical and industrial ties of the Islamic Republic with Turkey and Pakistan, the Iranian official noted that Iran, after the victory of the Islamic revolution and based on the policy of neither East nor West, had expanded its foreign relations, including economic ties, with Muslim and Third World states specially its neighbours. Iran's commercial, economic and industrial ties with Turkey and Pakistan enjoyed an outstanding expansion since the Islamic Republic's policy had changed direction from West towards the Third World countries after the victory of the Islamic revolution, he added.

He pointed to drastic changes in Iran's relations with other countries and said that some cooperation, such as the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) between Iran, Turkey and Pakistan, which was aimed at safeguarding the U.S. interests in the region, was cancelled after the revolution.

Kazempour Ardebili stressed that due to the expansion of economic ties among Muslim and Third World states, which contradicted interests of international imperialism, foreign mass media were constantly staging biased propaganda and tried to sow discord to hinder cooperation of Third World nations.

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI Views Casablanca Summit

GF211630 Tehran IRNA in English 1553 GMT 21 Jan 84

[Text] Tehran, Jan. 21, IRNA — The morning daily *JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI (ISLAMIC REPUBLIC)* today editorialised on the outcome of the recently concluded summit conference of the Islamic Conference Organisation, held in Casablanca, Morocco. The decisions made in the summit, said the editorial, have abused prestige of one billion Muslims.

In the summit, the rulers toying with the destiny of Muslim nations, substituted the principles of their foreign policy for the agenda of the conference, it continued. What decisions were made in the course of the Casablanca summit for the benefit of the Islamic world and which one of the decisions would solve any of the problems of the Muslims? asked the editorial.

It deplored the silence of the conference on the crisis in Lebanon whose people are being trampled by the Zionists and NATO forces. Do not these leaders attending the Casablanca summit, shudder with guilt of their own indifference towards the injustice perpetrated against the people of Lebanon and the Islamic world?

The editorial strongly criticised the reactionary Arab leaders who allowed Egypt to rejoin the conference without abrogating its relations with the Zionist enemy. It pointed out that any attempt to return Egypt to the ICO without breaking its ties with the Zionist regime, means that ast political, economic, military and security relations of an Arab country with the Zionist regime have been ignored and regarded as on ordinary issue. Return of Egypt to the Islamic world would be possible only after the Cairo regime has cut off its ties with the Zionist regime and has withdrawn from the Camp David accord.

At the end the editorial referring to the boycott of the summit by the Islamic Republic of Iran, said that there were some who doubted the decision of Iran in attending the conference, hosted by King Hassan. However, the ominous recore of the summit is a clear evidence proving the truth of Iran's decision.

Medical Teams Going to Lebanon for 1 Year

GF230642 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0400 GMT 23 Jan 84

[Text] The secretary general of the Red Crescent in the Islamic Republic of Iran has said that relief and medical teams supplied with equipment to administer medical treatment will be sent by Red Crescent to Lebanon in the next few days to offer medical services to the deprived for 1 year.

Materials Issued by 18th Tudeh Party Plenum

Central Committee Message

LA1921001 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 19 Jan 84

["Text" of message from Tudeh Party Central Committee to Iranian people, no date given — read by announcer]

[Text] Dear compatriots: The glorious revolution which you staged, sisters and brothers, and which you brought to unprecedented victory in the history of our homeland's oppressed people with unique self-sacrifice, heroism, and selflessness is now ending the fifth year of victory. During this period, what you have gone through and the painful agonies and deep wounds etched on the souls and hearts of millions of Iranians, as well as the experiences that have been acquired, reveal more than ever the substance and nature of the system that is ruling in our country.

In the course of the revolutionary movement, millions of Iranians declared their demands in numerous slogans and resolutions. The toiling masses rebelled and offered thousands of dead and wounded so that the dictatorial system, in whatever form, would be ended forever; that the political, economic, and cultural domination of imperialism would be eliminated; that land reform in the interest of deprived peasants would be implemented; that the conditions of work, living, housing, and health of millions of workers and other toilers in towns and villages would improve; that human rights for women would be ensured; that ethnic minorities would enjoy the right of autonomy; that terror and repression would end; and that the people's democratic rights and freedoms would be observed. However, the bitter and bloody experience of the last few years shows that the aspirations of the popular, democratic, and anti-imperialist revolution of our homeland's people have not been fulfilled.

The ruling circle, which during the revolutionary movement and in the initial years after the revolution's victory took steps in line with the demands of the people, turned its back on the people after usurping power. The most reactionary and superficial wing of the ruling circle, which gradually succeeded in consolidating its positions in government, emptied the revolution of its social and economic content by changing the direction of the revolution's movement. Independence, freedom, and social justice, which were the demands of the millions of human beings participating in the revolution, were ignored. By confining the content of social justice to a so-called spiritual dimension, the regime's leaders [words indistinct]. Thus, a medieval dictatorial system, which is a manifestation of monopolism and the imposition of one's wishes and views on others, replaced the monarchical dictatorial regime.

In order to maintain its existence, the ruling medieval system resorted to antihuman deeds in persecuting and suppressing dissenters. Various repressive and intelligence organizations, units and institutions, and the so-called Islamic societies of factories, departments, institutions, villages, universities, and schools were formed through the expenditure of hundreds of billions of rials from the country's budget to confront the discontent and to savagely suppress any sort of protest or strike by workers, farmers, students, civil servants, and pupils. Iran was transformed into the prison of millions of Iranians.

The regime's killers, who are armed to the teeth and who constantly patrol alleys and streets, by controlling the entrances to towns and by searching the people, cars, and homes, deprived millions of human beings of their security. Spying and informing, as well as bugging telephones, were elevated to the level of government policy. Sham shari'a courts are operating as tools of dictatorship, and are oblivious to any principle and law. The judicial branch has been turned into a lever for murder and for subjugating free and noble citizens. The regime is gradually losing its popular foundations. For this reason, in order to prolong its life, it sought the help of executioners, torturers, and jailers.

SAVAK agents — those CIA trainees — renewed the hunt for human beings with unlimited authority in punitive and intelligence organs. Hundreds of thousands of workers and farmers, students and intellectuals, women and men, mojahed, feda'i, Tudeh, and struggling Muslims were despatched to the Islamic Republic's dungeons and prisons. Antihuman methods of torture such as [word indistinct], the creation of a climate of intimidation, fake scenes of executions, lashings and beatings, [word indistinct], raping, extracting the blood of chained prisoners, grafting the skin of political prisoners to the agents of the regime, the use of narcotics, and so forth are prevalent on an unprecedented scale in order to emasculate the prisoners.

Savage mass execution of revolutionary dissenters, execution of pregnant women and minors, extraction of the blood of those sentenced to execution, and the raping of women prisoners before execution are an eternal stain of shame on the Islamic Republic's reactionary leaders.

Sisters and brothers, a ruling circle which day and night is blowing a trumpet of anti-imperialist propaganda in practice has adopted a course of struggle against leftist revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces who had a determining role in the final victory of the people's glorious revolution. The savage assault on the Iranian Tudeh Party and the arrest, torture, and murder of its members are the culmination of antidemocratic and antipeople measures by the Islamic Republic's leaders. The aim of the Islamic Republic's leaders, who have imposed the most abominable form of medieval dictatorship and tyranny on our tragic-stricken homeland and its tormented people, is rapprochement with international imperialism headed by world-devouring U.S. imperialism.

It was with the aim of achieving this antipeople goal that the cutting edge of the attack was directed at supporters of the people's interests. The banning of the activity of the Iranian Tudeh Party, too, should be assessed within this context.

An adage says that it is wrong to test the tested. Did the Aryamehri regime not declare the Iranian Tudeh Party as allegedly dissolved? Did the overthrown regime in the Rastakhiz system not claim that the progressive world view of the Iranian Tudeh Party — the scientific theory of liberation of nations from subjugation and captivity — had no basis within the country? Did the SAVAK file fabricators not torture even religious opponents along with Tudehis in the name of Islamic Marxists, and did they not deliver them to the firing squad? Was 25 years of absolute U.S. rule in Iran, under the guise of the threat of communism, not enough?

What was the aim of over 40 years of attack on the Tudehis, the concoction of myths of dependence and alleged spying, and the publication of scores of books and dissemination of daily radio, television, and press reports against the world view of our party? It was aimed at creating conditions for the hegemony of imperialism. Today it is the turn of the Islamic Republic's reactionary leaders to assume this duty and repeat baseless and unfounded charges that were leveled at our proud party.

They call the Iranian Tudeh Party dependent because it has a unified world view with scores of labor and communist parties. They declare the Iranian Tudeh Party illegal because it defends the interests of society's deprived. Who are the accusers? Black reaction and accomplices of imperialism, those who propagate the corrupt system of dependent capitalism as the sole way of saving the country, and those who consider harmony and affiliation with imperialism and capitalism and defense of the interests of a bunch of social parasites as their legitimate duty — these are not dependent or spies, but those who defend the interests of the deprived majority of society on the basis of a progressive and tested world view are depicted as dependent. Such an attitude is not confined to our party. All parties and organizations as well as personalities who have not changed the basis of their views according to the wish of the reactionary rulers have no right to exist and must be crushed.

What is happening to some members of the Iranian Tudeh Party in the regime's prisons is only one scenario from scores of scenarios produced by the executioners and torturers. So far, members of many organizations have been forced to appear on television and to say whatever the shari'a judges desire. As long as the present tyrannical regime exists, these antihuman shows will continue, because the regime that is despised by the masses, to conceal its impotence and abjectness, needs to humiliate human beings and to insult their character so that it can present their revealing logic and reasoning — which uncovers the regime's treachery and crimes — as incorrect and distorted.

A regime that violates the prestige, honor, and life of human beings — thus trampling on the most elementary moral principles — cannot be legitimate. Confession and admission under fascist torture are not only without value, but are the document of condemnation of criminals who claim to have Islamic ethics. The television shows by leaders of the Islamic Republic are crimes against the character of human beings. With these shameful acts, the regime is striving to create a society in which only human beings who are obedient, submissive, docile, irresolute, thoughtless, weak, uncreative, and who submit to the will of a handful of rulers who serve wealth and power can have the right to live. The annihilated shah also desired such a society, but these so-called desires for society have always cost a high price for those who desired them. The course of history can neither be halted nor turned backward.

Dear compatriots, the plot of internal reaction and imperialist agents against the Iranian Tudeh Party has faced an ignominious defeat. Our party, which was subjected to the most savage attacks and which endured the heavist blows, contrary to the desire of traitors to the revolution's interests, not only has not been dissolved but is determined to defend with the utmost power the aspirations of the revolution, and to serve Iran's deprived people.

The convening of the 18th plenum is a decisive answer to all those who are entertaining the vain thought of depriving our homeland's people of the most experienced and deep-rooted defender of toilers. What has the Iranian Tudeh Party said or what does it want that it should be assaulted in such a manner by reaction and the agents of imperialism? The Central Committee's 18th plenum provided a frank and clear answer to this question:

We desire an end to unprecedented terror and repression in our country. We desire the fulfillment of the just and legitimate demands of millions of workers and farmers in the social, economic, and political fields. We are opposed to the rule of major capitalists and landlords. We demand the suppression of those who, like leeches, are sucking the blood of millions of deprived Iranians.

We are saying that a handful of major capitalists, in association with reactionary rulers, should not be allowed to plunder the country's wealth. We demand the elimination of the large gap between poverty and wealth. We want social justice in the interest of the deprived masses. We recognize imperialism as the Iranian people's foremost enemy, and demand the eradication of any domination by imperialist monopolies. We demand an end to the execution of dissenters, the release of all political prisoners, the return of all political emigres to the homeland, respect for the character of women in society, and the realization of the right to self-government for the country's masses.

We are opposed to the continuation of the destructive war between Iran and Iraq — a war that not only has resulted in immense material losses but has also killed hundreds of thousands of our country's youths and left millions of invalids and war refugees. We demand an end to the war of fratricide in Kordestan and to the massacre of children, women, and old men in the towns and villages of this province who every day become the victims of the missiles, bombs and mortars of the Islamic Republic. Everything we say and want is nothing more than the legitimate demands of you tormented and captive sisters and brothers. We will struggle with the utmost power to implement these legitimate demands.

Not only we but all the world's progressive and liberated forces are pleased at the victories of the world's first socialist country and of the community of socialist countries in the social, economic, political, and cultural fields. We resolutely believe that a successful struggle against imperialism is not possible without close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We believe — and life also has proved this fact time and again — that the community of socialist countries is the greatest friend and benefactor of developing countries and assists them in gaining economic independence.

A hard battle is being waged in the world — a battle of life and death. Two fronts are confronting each other in this destiny-making battle. One seeks to destroy mankind, and is headed by bloodsucking U.S. imperialism; the other includes supporters of peace and social progress for human beings, and is led by the Soviet Union. Whereas leaders of the Islamic Republic are actually leaning toward the front of imperialism, we will continue the struggle in the front of peace, socialism, and social progress.

We declare that the republic's leaders have ignored their promises to the toilers and have turned their backs on the popular, anti-imperialist, and democratic revolution of our homeland's people. We are well aware that there are religious revolutionaries — and in significant numbers — who share this assessment with us. The Iranian Tudeh Party stands proud before history and before the homeland's oppressed and deprived masses and declares that it has remained loyal to their aspirations, to their real interests, and to independence, freedom, and social justice, and that it has paid a high price for their defense and preservation.

The 18th plenum of the Iranian Tudeh Party Central Committee calls on all the struggling and heroic people of Iran to raise their voices to protest the regime's injustices, oppression, and crimes. The regime's leaders want to pit you against one another — in the name of Shi'ite and Sunni, Muslim and dissenter, mojahed, feda'i, and Tudeh, Kurd, Fars, and Azari, as well as in other names — in order to consolidate the foundations of the rule of oppression and injustice. We can and should, through our alliance and unified action, foil this satanic plan of the ruling circle.

Dear compatriots, dark clouds which have covered our homeland's sky will be replaced by the sun of independence and freedom. One should not forget for a moment that with the constitutional revolution our people were among the pioneers of liberation revolutions. The struggles of the Iranian people during and after World War II are regarded as the first sparks of national and democratic struggles throughout the region.

With the movement toward nationalization of oil industries, our people began one of the most outstanding struggles against imperialism and neo-colonialism, which were an inspiration for anti-imperialist forces in the Middle East.

Finally, you sisters and brothers, with the powerful revolution of February 1979, once again demonstrated to the people of the world that revolutionary tradition and morale against imperialism and its domestic agents have deep roots in our country. Those who believe these people can be forced to remain silent are gravely mistaken. We are confident that people who were able to carry out the very heavy task of overthrowing the wretched monarchical regime and destroying the positions of imperialism can also assume the task of paving the way for the perpetuation of the anti-imperialist and democratic revolution.

The 18th plenum of the Central Committee invites all revolutionary, national, progressive, and anti-imperialist forces to struggle for the creation of a free, flourishing, independent, peaceloving, progressive, and democratic Iran; for thwarting the antipeople conspiracies of the ruling reaction; for creating favorable conditions of a constructive change in the interest of society's deprived majority; and for unity within a united popular front.

The Central Committee's 18th plenum calls on all sister and brother compatriots, workers, farmers, artisans, students, intellectuals, civil servants, progressive clergy, national capitalists, revolutionary and patriotic personnel of the Army and guards, and on all the peoples of our homeland — irrespective of their religion, ideas, or political group — not to give up but to unite within a single rank in order to bring the revolution to a triumphant conclusion, and to once again show their high social awareness to the people of the world.

The 18th plenum of the Iranian Tudeh Party Central Committee bows before all martyrs on the path of the revolution's perpetuation. The history of our homeland will never forget these devotees of the homeland and the people.

People of Iran, be aware of the seditions by reaction and the agents of imperialism so that you will advance the cause of struggle on the basis of unity, organization, and political awareness.

Plenum Resolution, Part I

TA210615 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 20 Jan 84

["First installment" of resolution adopted at 18th plenum of Tudeh Party Central Committee — read by announcer]

[Text] The 18th plenum of the Iranian Tudeh Party Central Committee heard a report on the problems of the world and Iran and on the tasks of the party in the current stage. After discussion, the plenum reached agreement on the following points:

A. A Glance at the World Situation

1. International developments indicate that the most adventurous and agreesive warmongering wing of the United States is leading the world toward a nuclear catastrophe. Imperialist circles are propagandizing the inevitability of war, the possibility of limited and even long-term nuclear war, as well as victory in it, and are preparing themselves to deliver a first nuclear strike. The deployment of intermediate range Pershing-II and cruise missiles in Western Europe is a practical and lengthy stride toward this end.

In the current stage, the content of the agressive policy of imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, consists of undermining the positions of socialism in the world and suppressing national liberation and anti-imperialist movements of the people.

Imperialism is striving to prevent the evolution of history toward lasting peace and peaceful coexistence throughout the world, and the liberation of the masses from the captivity of reaction, as well as the establishment of a new society — a society devoid of destructive wars, poverty, ignorance, unemployment, and exploitation. The adventurous policy of U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies in the international arena increases the danger of nuclear war and endangers human existence.

2. The intensification of the economic, social, and ideological crisis of capitalism; the decline in the level of economic growth, and chronic inflation; and the increase in the cost of living, unemployment, and expansion of poverty intensify class struggle and the strike movement in developed Western industrialized countries and shake the social foundations of the oppressive capitalist system. The socioeconomic measures by the capitalism of government monopoly is not able to resolve the contradictions of the system. Polarization among imperialist governments is deepening more than ever.

3. The situation in the Middle East is becoming more critical. This stems from the adventurous and aggressive policy of the United Staes, which is trying to maintain its hegemony over the world and to impose its will over other (?countries) from a so-called position of strength. The deployment of powerful naval forces in the Indian Ocean, the arrival of some of them in the Persian Gulf, and the formation of the Rapid Deployment Forces as well as the Central Strategic Command, pursue no aim other than overt interference in the internal affairs of the region's countries and military operations with the aim of allegedly defending U.S. vital interests — that is, the suppression of liberation movements. The U.S. military presence and the establishment of numerous military bases throughout the region endangers the independence of our homeland as well as of other countries. The United States' military aggression against Grenada and Lebanon are outstanding examples of this aggressive policy.

4. Imperialism is opposed to social changes in newly independent countries. Imperialist government endeavor to impose on developing countries the course of progress of dependent capitalism. The peoples of the Third World are struggling with consistency against the plundering policy of imperialist monopolies. [Words indistinct] in newly independent countries is increasing.

5. The adventurous and aggressive policy of imperialism is doomed to failure. Our era is a transitory one from capitalism to socialism on an international scale. The forces of peace, democracy, and socialism are superior to the force of imperialism. The community of socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union, has been transformed into a powerful material and moral force in the world, and is playing a determining role in the battle against imperialism and for the liberation of peoples.

6. As a result of the consistent and innovative efforts of socialist countries, as well as the alertness and awarness of other peace-loving forces, mankind has succeeded during a relatively long period in preventing an outbreak of world war. Today, too, as in the past, the Soviet Union along with other socialist countries is struggling for the great and vital cause of world peace and the realization of peoples' security. The Iranian Tudeh Party strongly supports the proposals of the community of socialist countries in connection with nuclear as well as general disarmament and considers them the only way of attaining lasting peace and the salvation of mankind from a nuclear war catastrophe.

7. Expansion of friendly relations between governments, peaceful coexistence of countries with varying social systems, strict respect for the right of people to determine their destiny, and social progress are unalterable principles which the community of socialist countries pursues in its foreign policy.

8. The Central Committee plenum believes that struggle for the limitation of nuclear weapons, creating zones free from nuclear weapons — including the Indian Ocean area — closing down U.S. military bases, and extinguishing hotbeds of war which have the certain potential of escalating into a world war are one of the main features of the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle.

9. The plenum severely condemns the adventurous and aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East, Central America, and other parts of the world, and believes that one should struggle against it with the utmost power.

10. The plenum expresses its deep solidarity with the just struggle of the fraternal Afghan people under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan for the establishment of a free, prosperous, and independent country and strongly condemns the undeclared war of U.S. imperialism and its agents against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

11. The liberation and anti-imperialist movements of the people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have been transformed into a powerful force in world revolution. The alliance of the three main revolutionary forces of our age — the international system of socialism, the labor and communist movement in capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement on an international level — is the condition for victory over imperialism.

B. Regarding the Situation in Iran

1. Serious discussion was held in the plenum on the general report, the issues of the revolution, and the duties of the party in connection with the struggle against the reaction ruling in the country, and for independence, freedom, and social justice. The plenum believes that the February 1979 revolution of our homeland's people was an anti-imperialist, antimonarchical, antidespotic, and popular revolution. The plenum confirms that, despite the efforts of revolutionary and patriotic forces, the revolution could not achieve its social and economic targets.

2. With the revolution's victory, a new ruling circle with a new class base assumed control of the country's affairs, but this ruling circle was not homogeneous from the viewpoint of class dependence. Although under the impact of the revolutionary climate the new government initiated certain measures with respect to altering the government apparatus inherited from the previous regime, these measures were soon halted, and in general the government apparatus has remained almost untouched. Without changing the government into a factor for social and economic progress, and without democratizing the government apparatus, the revolution's perpetuation was not possible.

3. The ruling clergy are a blend of various wings. One wing is a political manifestation and the representative of major capitalists, landlords, and middle bourgeois, and the other wing supports Islamic justice in society. If the first wing desires limited forms of political domination while maintaining the complete domination of the dependent capitalist system, the second deems it necessary to maintain monopolist political and social domination in society for implementing what it calls Islamic justice. The effort of each of these wings to preserve its power and to force the other side into submission, while retreating in the face of an assault by one wing and adopting a path of conciliation, is a common practice of both the wings against those who desire broad social changes — with the aim of defending their interests as one stratum — and is one of the characteristics of the new ruling circle.

The plenum believes that the ruling clergy is not the representative of a specific stratum from a specific class; rather it is the representative of different strata and varying classes and layers of society — from major capitalists and landlords to middle and small bourgeois. It is amid such a situation that the ruling clergy presents itself as above class (?struggle) [words indistinct] that they defend the people's interests.

4. If under the deposed regime industrial groups — that is the upper stratum of capitalists and landlords — used to rule in the name of the shah, with the creation of the Islamic Republic and the elimination of industrial groups, now the major capitalists, and especially mercantile bourgeois, as well as landlords, are in general ruling under the guise of shari'a standards and in the name of the Islamic ummah. Instead of society's getting a new content, it is now being pushed toward the most conservative religious fundamentalism in order to safeguard their interests. The main characteristic of the current situation can be summarized in the policy of maneuvering between classes and strata and seeking demagogical assistance from all strata and classes of society to cover up the defense of the interests of the exploiting class.

5. The toiling masses, and particularly Iran's industrial proleteriat, in the course of the revolutionary movement raised their explicit social, economic, and political demands. The evolution of the revolutionary movement showed that the million-strong masses participating in the revolution did not struggle just to change the political structure, they also demanded a total transformation of the whole infrastructure. However, the ruling circles could not and did not want to carry out the political-social responsibility that it had assumed toward the toiling masses.

Despite the consistent effort of the Iranian Tudeh Party and of other forces defending the aspirations of the deprived masses, the revolution was halted at the political stage and could not evolve into a social revolution. The anti-imperialist, antidespotic, and democratic revolution evolved into a medieval tyranny for reviving the dependent capitalist system.

6. With the removal of Bani-Sadr from the presidency, the revolution's political leadership was mainly assumed by Ayatollah Khomeyni and his supporters in the government. Under these conditions, in view of past differences in the political leadership and the halt in the process of the revolution's expansion, it was hoped that basic steps toward resolving society's socioeconomic problems in the interest of the toiling masses would be taken. This hope was not fulfilled. Not only did this process not begin, but the regime's policy made a qualitative change and turned further toward the right. The ruling circle's rightward turn in the field of domestic and foreign policy — which is manifesting itself in the form of reviving the corrupt dependent capitalist system, strengthening the financial base of the mercantile bourgeois, restoring the economic and consequently the political positions of imperialism, and increasing the harmony and coordination with imperialist governments — has confronted society with a social, economic, and political crisis.

Chronic inflation, astronomically high costs, the speedy increase in the cost of living, general unemployment, continued emigration of poverty-stricken peasants to the cities, growth of corruption, [word indistinct], unprecedented plunder by economic terrorists under the protection of the ruling circle, acceleration of industrial dependence, speedy increase in the import of consumer goods and agricultural products coupled with the decrease of exports, and finally total reliance on oil revenues for continuing the country's economic life are obvious signs of the deepening crisis in the Islamic Republic.

8. [as heard] Ending the destructive Iran-Iraq war is the demand of the decisive majority of toilers who are bearing the war's heavy burden. "War, war until victory," which leaders of the Islamic Republic are propagandizing, and which so far has left hundreds of thousands of dead, wounded, and maimed and inflicted enormous damages on the country's economy, is clearly inconsistent with the goals of our people's revolution. The war's prolongation is in the interest of imperialism. U.S. imperialism is exploiting the war's prolongation — which is a great catastrophe for the people of the two neighboring countries — to consolidate its political, military, and economic positions in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East.

We believe that a cease-fire and concluding peace with just conditions are to the benefit of the peoples of both countries and to the detriment of imperialism. This should be done as soon as possible. Struggle for ending the war between Iran and Iraq is the urgent task of those who defend the country's national interests.

9. The 18th plenum of the Central Committee condemns the continuation of the war of fratricide in Kordestan which has been imposed on the Kurdish people and demands an end to the bombardment of the region's towns and villages and the massacre of children, women, and old men. The plenum demands recognition of the right to self-government for all peoples of the country within the framework of Iran's territorial integrity.

10. U.S. imperialism is enemy No one of our homeland's people. In the world, two fronts are confronting each other — the front of anti-imperialist forces and strugglers for freedom, independence, and social progress, headed by the Soviet Union, on the one hand; and the front of imperialist and reactionary forces who are the sworn enemies of oppressed and deprived people, headed by U.S. imperialism, on the other. Anti-imperialist struggle on an international scale is not possible if it is separated from the front of anti-imperialist forces.

We believe that the natural allies of our homeland's deprived masses consist, first and foremost, of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In its effort to export the counterrevolution, imperialism has always strived and continues to strive to separate liberation movements from their international friends, thus preparing the ground for consolidating the domestic positions of imperialist agents and reactionary forces. Right now we are witnessing this process in our own homeland. Historical experience confirms that anywhere imperialism has succeeded in fulfilling this policy, the revolutionary movement in that country was crushed and imperialist hegemony became dominant.

The plenum considers the policy of the Islamic Republic's leaders, aimed at restoring the positions of imperialism in the country — under cover of the so-called slogan "Neither East nor West," but which actually has been transformed into a "Not East but West" policy — as well as the escalation of anti-Soviet hysteria, as a deeply antinational policy and contrary to the national interests of our homeland's people.

11. Leaders of the Islamic Republic are actively expanding a policy of suppressing and terrorizing anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces. The main characteristic of this phase in the policy of the ruling regime consists of a maximum resort to medieval and condemned methods of inquisition, arrest, torture, and murder of dissenters; creating a climate of general lack of confidence; encouraging the country's inhabitants to spy and inform against each other; exploiting the colonialist thesis of divide and rule; expanding the anti-Tudeh climate; and imposing the official ideology and views of the ruling circle as the only political tendency in society. The most widespread means of implementing this antihuman policy include exploiting various suppressive and intelligence organs, the network of which has engulfed the entire country. The plenum believes that realization of democratic freedoms and rights was and remains the principle condition for the progress of society and the guarantee for social changes.

12. The regime's fierce offensive against the Iranian Tudeh Party, the imprisonment of thousands of its members, and declaring the activity of our party as illegal did not and does not have the slightest connection with the silly accusations fabricated by the regime's intelligence organs. The only reason for this should be sought in the justness and authenticity of our party's world view, in its attractiveness, and in the daily increasing adherence of patriotic toilers and intellectuals to the practical and theoretical views, proposals, and programs presented by the Iranian Tudeh Party.

The Iranian Tudeh Party — which has risen out of the class needs of society, which is the hope and haven of oppressed masses, and which is the stronghold of toilers for confronting the enemies of the masses — has shown and continues to show the masses of the people the way out of [word indistinct] poverty, the elimination of class oppression, the solution to the ethnic problem, the way for a speedy and possible attainment of real socioeconomic progress compatible with the characteristics of society, and finally the way for attaining real political and economic independence. The regime's resort to terror and repression and the filthy method of compiling dossiers, in the ideological struggle, is an indication of its ideological weakness.

13. A large number of our comrades have been martyred under savage torture. Others, too, who like these have also selflessly defended the aspirations of their party, were dispatched to the firing squads without trial. At the same time, another show presented the features of the Islamic Republic. The unrestrained distortion of the history of the party's struggles, the denial of the existence of torture in the prisons of the Islamic Republic, the negation of theoretical and philosophical truths, the justification of the futile destructive war, and the infliction of self-harm and negating one's own existence and character are proof of the emasculation under savage torture of some of the victims of the antihuman plot by the Islamic Republic's leaders. In this connection, what is taking place in Iran's dungeons and torture chambers was and is in no way related to the proud history and activity of the Iranian Tudeh Party.

The Central Committee plenum announces that those members of the leadership who are imprisoned, as long as they are in captivity and under torture, do not have the slightest responsibility in the party. Their party situation, after the separate status of each one has been clarified in the regime's prisons, will be reviewed and determined.

14. The plenum sincerely thanks all fraternal communist and labor parties throughout the world, foremost the CPSU, and all progressive organizations, groups, and figures that sided with us in the difficult and sensitive moments in the history of our party and who raised their voices in protest against the regime's injustices. No power will be able to separate the Iranian Tudeh Party from the great community of fraternal communist and labor parties. In the future too, as in the past, the Iranian Tudeh Party will continue to hoist the proud banner of the international proletariat, solidarity with communist and labor parties, and friendship with socialist countries, particularly with the immediate neighbor and great friend of our homeland's people — the Soviet Union. The Iranian Tudeh Party will struggle against nationalist phenomena and divisive approaches in the Communist and labor movement.

C. The Party's Duties in the Current Stage — Organizational Duties

1. The most important, urgent, and central duty currently facing our party is the revival of our organizations in the country. Toward this end, the following particulars must be noted: observance of the four principles of decentralization, preference of quality over quantity, blending of overt and covert activity, and safeguarding of party secrets; establishment of separate and loyal branches and cells; avoiding the linkage of branches and cells with one another, and maintaining the independence of small cells; unconditional observance of party discipline; blocking the means of leekage of any party information; making each and every party member dutybound to maintain secrecy; blocking the way for the enemy's infiltration into the party; and adopting urgent measures by the Politburo in this connection.

2. By taking into consideration the clandestine situation, the party's leadership organs should make the principle of collective activity with individual responsibility the basis of their work and refrain from employing methods of [word indistinct] command.

3. Party organizations should transform the work area and the activity of the working class into an arena for propagating the party's views. They should take the party's program in the economic, social, political, and cultural fields out to the toiling masses, youths, students, pupils, women, and intellectuals. Considering the special importance of the peasants' struggle against landlords, and in view of the regime's refusal to implement radical agrarian reforms, particular attention should be devoted to activity among peasants.

4. The reorganization of the party in the country is our most important, urgent, and central problem at present. Without resolving this significant and vital problem, it is not possible to resolve other problems. The revival and consolidation of efficient, disciplined, and coordinated party organizations in the country is a difficult task which is possible only if one refrains from hasty activity, and if suitable individuals are chosen from the viewpoint of sincerity to the party's world view, resistance against the enemies, and total observance of guarded movement. Party activity should be organized in such a manner as to render the maximum results and the minimum losses by employing the utmost revolutionary vigilance in order to prevent the enemy's penetration of the party.

Propaganda and Publicity Duties

5. The plenum declares that immense (?effort) should be devoted to the party's propaganda and ideological activity. The party's propaganda and publicity activity should be aimed at (?justifying) the party's strategy and tactics, the strategy and tactics of the international communist and labor movement; and at ideologically mobilizing the Iranian people in the spirit of desire for peace, democracy, social progress, and socialism, and friendship with socialist countries and liberation movements, and in the spirit of combat against imperialism and reaction.

6. In the current stage of propaganda and publicity activity, the following points should be noted: The reorganization of the party's press activity on the basis of the policy adopted by the plenum, with the aim of preventing fluctuations in the (?arena) of the party's views; the endeavor to create coordination of thought in writings; making the contects of party propaganda logical, convincing, documented, and provocative; devoting particular attention to the organizational role of propaganda organs; reflecting the progressive demands and urgent economic, social, political, and cultural requests of the toiling masses in press, periodicals, and other propaganda organs of the party; support in the party's propaganda and publicity activity for all efforts and attempts by opposition progressive, revolutionary and anti-imperialist organizations and groups which are in the general interest and well-being, and which are aimed at unifying these forces; a large-scale ideological offensive with the aim of foiling the harmful propaganda of anti-Tudeh and anticommunist groups; the propagation of a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence among the masses; (?advancing) the unshakeable connection of this policy with the revolutionary struggle, particularly with the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle of our homeland's people; condemnation of any illegal arrest, trial, and torture without considering organizational affiliation; exposing the adventurous and aggressive policy of imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, and justifying the peaceful policy of the community of socialist countries, and first and foremost of the Soviet Union; all-out disclosure of imperialism, Zionism, racism, and apartheid; and all-out support for national liberation movements throughout the world.

Plenum Resolution, Part II

TA221800 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 21 Jan 84

["Second installment" of resolution adopted at 18th plenum of Tudeh Central Committee — read by announcer]

[Text] The Need for Unity by Revolutionary, Democratic, and Anti-Imperialist Forces

1. The country's developments once again make apparent the fact that without unity of action by revolutionary, democratic,and anti-imperialist forces, struggle against the ruling reaction and imperialism cannot achieve the desired result. Since its founding the Iranian Tudeh Party has exerted enormous efforts to unify revolutionary, democratic, and anti-imperialist forces. In particular, our party attaches great importance to the historical cooperation of forces that struggle under the banner of combat for national independence, freedom, social progress, and a better life for working people.

2. Reactionary circles dominating the government are striving with their utmost power to exploit any discord among progressive political forces, as well as religious revolutionaries, in order to consolidate their own position and revive the positions of imperialism, major capitalists, and landlords. Under such conditions, the unity of revolutionary, democratic, and anti-imperialist forces, whether political or religious, within a united popular front is a determining factor and the main guarantee of victory [words indistinct].

3. The plenum is of the opinion that the existence of disagreement among revolutionary, democratic, and anti-imperialist forces in the ideological sphere, as well as regarding the manner of the revolution's perpetuation and the long-range aims of Iranian society, is a natural matter. What is of significance is the exitence of common points regarding the main aim of struggle at the current stage in the [word indistinct] of our party and of other political, revolutionary, democratic, and anti-imperialists currents, thus creating conditions for talks and for seeking a common language on a political program and approach.

4. The plenum of the Central Committee notes that some misunderstandings and excessive acts in relations between the Iranian Tudeh Party and the Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization of Iran created certain problems which, in general, were detrimental to the anti-imperialist movement of our homeland's people. The plenum seeks a positive reconsideration of these relations and recommends to the plenum to strive toward the establishment of healthy and constructive relations with the Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization of Iran — as one of the anti-imperialist and popular forces — with the aim of unifying all revolutionary and patriotic forces.

5. The Iranian Tudeh Party will exert the necessary efforts to create understanding and close contact with the progressive and revolutionary organizations and forces of the Kurdish people. The plenum of the Iranian Tudeh Party Central Committee supports the just struggle of the Kurdish people for autonomy within the framework of an independent and free Iran.

6. Struggling Muslims in the towns and villages, who had an important role in the revolution's victory and who are still seeking to achieve independence, freedom, and social justice, undoubtedly should be part of the great alliance of revolutionary forces that are still pursuing this goal. This principle is also valid in respect to other anti-imperialist forces as well.

7. Iran's recent events are a warning to all supporters of the popular and anti-imperialist aspirations of the glorious February 1979 revolution. The Iranian Tudeh Party believes that in these historical moments the only way to attain the targets of the February revolution is the establishment of a united popular front from among all adherents of the revolution with every ideological tendency. The revolution of February 1979 is an indisputable historical reality. The struggle to achieve the initial targets of the revolution — which started the day after the revolution's victory — is continuing. The country's toilers and all national and progressive forces demand the revolution's perpetuation. There is no doubt that this just demand of the million-strong masses will be fulfilled.

8. At the current stage the main aims of the struggle by our homeland's people include a consistent struggle against reactionary forces in the government — who are endeavoring to revive the political and social positions of major capitalists, large landowners, and imperialism in the country — and the defense of democratic freedoms and rights. On this basis, the Iranian Tudeh Party puts forward the following proposed program as a basis for a common program of a united popular front. At the same time it declares its readiness to hold talks about any similar program by revolutionary, democratic, and anti-imperialist forces.

Regarding Political, Personal, and Social Rights and Freedoms

1. Ensuring the free and useful participation of all the Iranian people in political and social life and mutual respect for the religions, traditions, and customs, national cultures,and languages of all people and ethnic minorities.

2. Solving the ethnic problem by ending economic, social, and cultural deprivations and ensuring the right of self-government for all peoples residing in Iran as a guarantee of territorial integrity and with the aim of securing national unity and safeguarding the country's independence.

3. Ensuring democratic rights and freedoms for all social, political, labor, progressive, and national parties and organizations — without any restrictions or discrimination whatsoever — and creating conditions for free activity to publish and propagandize views, and ending any sort of monopolism, coercion, imposition of views, and discrimination by any official or individual. The achievement of this goal necessitates that all laws, regulations, and decrees that are inconsistent with democratic rights be abolished.

The freedom of opinion, speech, press, meetings, parties and demonstrations, as well as freedom of defense in courts, should be ensured. The fight to free elections and representation for the country's citizens, irrespective of nationality, religion, and (?sect), should be ensured in all electoral institutions. The absolute right of forming trade unions should be recognized for all urban and rural workers and toilers. All urban and rural toilers must enjoy the right to strike. Women and men should have real equal rights in society. All political prisoners — strugglers on the path of the revolution's perpetuation — should be immediately released. All dossiers and (?decrees) against prisoners and victims in the path of the revolution's perpetuation should immediately be declared null and void, and all of these prisoners and victims must be rehabilitated. All intelligence and suppressive organs and institutions must be dismantled.

In the Sphere of Foreign Policy

1. Maintaining and consolidating the country's political and economic independence.

2. Establishing friendly relations with governments that respect Iran's national sovereignty and which are ready to establish their political, economic, and cultural relations on the basis of equal rights, mutual benefit, and noninteference in the country's internal affairs.

3. All-out support for truly revolutionary liberation and anti-imperialist movements throughout the world.

4. Cooperation and alliance with all anti-imperialist forces on an international level.

5. Defense of world peace and the security of nations and struggle against warmongers, headed by U.S. imperialism, and consistent implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

6. Ending the Iran-Iraq war through a just peace and refraining from any sort of interference in the internal affairs of neighboring countries.

In the Economic Sphere

1. Setting the country's economic system on the basis of three governmental, cooperative, and private sectors — with the first two having priority — with the aim of establishing a political and economic (?infrastructure) that will prevent the centralization of production and wealth in the hands of a tiny minority.

2. Total salvation from the domination of imperialism and neocolonialism over economic and political affairs by undertaking national independent policies, nationalizing all industrial institutions belonging to imperialist monopolies and governments, and abrogating the law of attracting foreign capital.

3. Abrogating all nonessential and excessively costly agreements that the leaders of the Islamic Republic are endeavoring to revive.

4. Employing theoretical planning in all the country's economic affairs.

5. Real industrialization through the establishment of heavy and key industries in view of the country's urgent needs and sensible use of oil revenues for productive investment.

6. Transfer of industries, land, and other movable and immovable nationalized properties to the government; centralization of the basic fields of industry — banking and insurance — in the hands of the government; and democratizing the government sector and placing it at the service of the people.

7. Implementing fundamental land reform through the confiscation of land belonging to large landowners, commissioning uncultivated land with the aim of providing sufficient land for farmers with no land or with small landholdings and for peasants who work as laborers in the fields, and guaranteeing the ownership of peasants.

8. Large-scale expansion of domestic and foreign trade, strengthening of the domestic market, and terminating the policy of relying on the markets of imperialist countries to provide internal consumption needs.

9. Review of distribution of national revenue on the basis of planning a balanced budget and through the imposition of more taxes on the income of major capitalists, reducing the tax on the income of working people, and conducting a review of indirect taxes in the interest of society's deprived toilers.

Regarding Improvement of Life

1. Workers: ensuring the effective participation of workers in the affairs of factories and service through labor unions and syndicates; drafting, approving, and implementing a labor law and a social insurance law on a democratic basis; eradicating overt and covert unemployment in towns and villages and ensuring employment as the indisputable right of citizens; increasing wages in proportion to work and the priority material and moral needs of toilers and their families considering the fluctuations of the cost of living; providing suitable housing for workers; and conducting a review in the category of jobs and increasing the pension of retired workers.

2. Peasants: supplying farmers with government credits, seed, fertilizer, and technical assistance; establishing peasants' production, distribution, and consumption cooperatives by ensuring the active participation of farmers in their affairs; solving the water problem in the interest of peasants; (?improving) agricultural produce; reconstructing villages; providing infrastructure service; and raising the general standard of health and education and training in the villages.

3. Women: ensuring political, social, economic, and cultural rights — equal with men — for women; ending all injustices that have led to the deprivation of women and which have deprived them of equal rights in society and the family; and abolishing all laws that prevent the manifestation of the character of women in society.

4. Civil servants: reviewing employment laws on a democratic basis with the aim of gaining the rights of employees in government and private sectors; ending inquisitions in government departments and the dismissal of dissenters; providing housing for low-income employees; and recognizing the right to form unions for all employees of governmental and private institutions and departments.

5. Shopkeepers, middle and low-income capitalists: providing government credits for improving the work in various fields of trade; establishing special trade guilds for defending the shopkeepers' union demands and intersts; encouraging artistic and national handicrafts; creating the necessary conditions for ensuring the beneficial activity of middle and low-income capitalists, and defense of their interests in the face of imperialist monopolies.

6. Culture, education, and training: eradicating all traces of colonialist and medieval culture from the people's daily life; devoting particular attention to the progress of culture in backward areas; establishing a system of national culture for ethnic minorities and the people, and extending the learning of mother languages; initiating a fundamental review of the educational system from the primary school to the university; totally eradicating illiteracy; establishing an Iranian academy of science, forming a large-scale network of scientific research, and providing the necessary conditions for the creative and fruitful work of scholars; abolishing all decrees and laws that prevent the progress of literature, art, music, and theater, and providing the necessary conditions for artistic progress and creativity; and ensuring (?freedom) for writers and artists on the basis of the jsut demands of their progressive unions.

This was the general outline of a program which in the view of the Iranian Tudeh Party can bring together within a single and united front all forces that defend the February 1979 revolution — a front that can topple the domination of domestic reaction and imperialism in all affairs and which can take steps for the benefit of the people. Such a front, with a joint program agreed upon by all participating forces, can be a reliable guarantee in the struggle for the establishment of a government of national coalition for the achievement of the revolution's aspirations.

The 18th plenum of the Iranian Tudeh Party Central Committee resolutely believes that all those who wish to end the domination of reaction in the government, as well as to establish a government of national coalition, can together find a common language, and by preparing an agreed upon comprehensive program, can struggle actively to achieve it.

Contrary to the belief of the counterrevolution, the revolution has not been banished. Progressive revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces — political and religious — possess extensive material and moral bases in society, and through unity and joint action, they can (?draw) into their ranks all toiling classes and strata who are turning away from the reactionary ruling circle. Attainment of this urgent goal requires revolutionary courage and understanding. In its turn, the Iranian Tudeh Party will exert all the necessary efforts toward achieving this goal.